

CLEVELAND

2908 JAY AVE.

JULY 27 1964

This week was occupied primarily with forging ahead on the three-pronged approach outlined in our last report, with the goal being preparation for an initial meeting of the community people who have been located so far in each issue area. Although the number of community people with whom we are working is small, the CCP has felt a more concrete sense of direction and of momentum than previously. The development of core leadership for each of the three incipient organizations is anticipated as a slow process, occupying the rest of the summer and probably beyond. However, we have begun to feel that we are developing a real feeling for this community, and have begun to establish real roots here. Following is a brief summary of our activities and progress in each issue area.

PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECT

With the addition of two members to the team working in the housing project, bringing it to a total for four, there was a decision to expand the areas of the project in which attempts are being made to form neighborhood councils, with the goal of forming a tenants' council for the entire project, by the end of the summer. Effort hence were divided between talking with older contacts in preparation for the first meeting of councils in the two units which had been worked in previously, and making new contacts in the 'expansion areas.'

In one unit, a meeting of a small group of potential leaders was held, to plan for the first meeting of the neighborhood council for that unit. The meeting was attended by five neighborhood people, and two CCP-ers, a male and a female. "There was no problem in drawing people out, and all shared in the discussion and talked readily about problems. However, most discussion concentrated on recreation and other needs for the children. Mention of welfare and unemployment groups fell flat several times, as the conversation kept moving back to recreation and other needs for the children. The meeting ended with almost everyone planning to come work on the leaflet, and at the same time decide how to get more people to the next meeting..." The similarity of the situation to that of campus organizing was noted, with the observation that one shouldn't expect people with little or no organizational experience to volunteer more readily than college students, whom it is hard enough to get to commit themselves, for responsibility; or to be more ready to transfer personal problems to the level of public issues.

The initial issue focus for the councils will be on the level of problems of living in the project. Two types of issues are potential here: first, those internal to the neighborhood itself, such as the fighting of children, or petty arguments among neighbors; second, those which confront the management, such as getting TV antennae which now are not allowed, or changing such provisions in the lease as those which allow the management to enter any apartment at any time, or which provide for painting once every seven years with colors selected by the management. The aim is to move from these issues into issues external to the project, such as welfare and unemployment, or the problem of bus transportation into and out of the project so as to make it less isolated, or the problem of the schools which project children attend. Methods for recruiting people into the councils is another focus for activity, although not being an issue per se. The use of free movies as a means for drawing project residents together is seen as a possibility here.

ERAP-64-8

like to work + imp

goal

No linkage

mediate

protest

secret

WELFARE

Attached to this report (see Appendix) is an outline of the program with welfare mothers, which summarizes the thinking of the strategy meeting last week leading to the decision to go ahead with this program. The first meeting of the welfare group is planned for Monday, July 27, and the week has been spent in recruiting mothers who are on welfare to come to the meeting, as well as in talking with the veterans of the previously existing group of welfare mothers about possible programs for the new group. Recruitment of new people for the group is being done primarily by following up contacts originally made at the office where welfare people come monthly to buy their food-stamps. A direct knocking on doors approach has also begun. Some initial attempts have been made to involve the veterans in this recruitment activity. Following is a report on one such visit: - "...Mary far out surpassed any of us. The woman with whom we spoke was a middle-aged mother from West Virginia, with 8 or so kids. Being new to the big city, she was reluctant to open herself up...Mary sensing this immediately put the woman to ease by first chatting about little things like her cool living room, kids, etc., then proceeded briefly to mention the meeting, then described some of her own problems -- child by her boyfriend, her boyfriend, detectives from the welfare department, etc. As she talked the other woman opened more and more of herself, Mary all the time being careful to let the other woman speak. Mary was very direct, in confronting most of the difficult problems women on welfare have, and in this way also helped to put the woman at ease. At one point the woman said, 'If I painted my face black, maybe I could get everything I need.' Mary replied, 'Them colored have many problems, even more than we do...'"

Programmatic ideas being considered as initial activities for the welfare group are: 1) working towards a large demonstration in September demanding a full set of clothes for each child going to school; 2) demanding money for school supplies; 3) getting the food stamp office open on Saturday when the 10th of the month, on which day the welfare checks come out, falls on a Friday, or getting the distribution of food stamps changed from one central office to local banks; 4) demanding a sliding scale for the purchase of food stamps, so that a family has more freedom of choice in deciding how to spend its money.

EMPLOYMENT

The key event in this area during the week was the initial meeting of five unemployed men, held on Thursday, July 23. Five members of the CCP were present, three men and two women. This worked out well, particularly since none of the men had previously known each other, and the situation was ideal for breaking down into smaller conversations and encouraging general participation in the discussion. The meeting was planned to begin with an introduction of those present, followed by an introduction to the CCP and a general analysis of the situation of unemployment. This was to lead into discussion of two, or, if time permitted, three program areas, - first, the area of recruitment, in which would be discussed the writing of a leaflet to use in spreading ideas about the group, and ways, such as house-to-house contact, for recruiting men into the group; second, the area of action around retraining, where people might initially go in a group down to the employment office to take the test for the training programs, and get more information about them, as the basis for demands for improvement of the program; third, the area of action around creation of jobs through expansion of city services. It was hoped that out of the meeting would come a small group of people to work on each area, and report to the next meeting. As the meeting turned out, there was no problem in drawing out discussion although it tended not to focus. It was felt that the concept of the agenda was too structured, and also that it approached the situation deductively while the men approached it more inductively. The introductory remarks, and the analysis of unemployment as a social rather than a personal problem, fell totally flat, and did not elicit any discussion or response. This discussion might have gone better

had it been scheduled at the end of the meeting. Also, no space was allotted for discussion of the personal problems of being unemployed; this discussion did come up spontaneously; but had it been scheduled for the beginning might have helped warm things up faster. The meeting concluded with plans for two or three men to go down to the employment office, with a CCP-er, to get information and take the test, and with plans for everybody in the group to meet as a subcommittee to work up a leaflet.

Review of Unemployment Compensation

Recruitment Strategies

Recruitment of new men into the unemployed group has been going on during the week by a new technique: knocking on doors in the neighborhood, and asking whether any unemployed or underemployed people live in the house. This approach has been chosen in preference to recruitment at the BUC office, or at the spot labor offices downtown, because of the hope of building an organization based in the neighborhood. Whether this is possible, given the fact that the unemployment rate in the Near West Side varies from 5 to 15 per cent, according to 1960 census statistics, has been somewhat in question. However, experience with the door-to-door approach thus far has increased optimism about the possibility for the neighborhood base. The need is felt for brainstorming on more programmatic ways to bring underemployed and tenuously employed into the group as well. It has been sort of provisionally decided that young married men, (18-30 age group), are probably most potential for the group. Although other groups will not be excluded at this point, it is felt that we have no program which is likely to attract them, and will not concentrate our efforts on them at this time. Stress will be placed in the work for the remainder of the summer on bringing members of the group into active participation and responsibility in the ongoing activities and program development of the group. Educational activities for the time being will be of an informal nature, as well as activities directed toward leadership development. It is felt that we have not yet had time to identify real potential leadership; and should try to keep the structure of the group as loose and as fluid as possible.

Rate + unemployed org

Also of importance this week was a meeting with two members of the employment committee of CORE. As mentioned in our last report, CORE's program for the unemployed has not advanced very far due mostly to lack of manpower which CORE has had available for this program. At the meeting, we discussed the approach which we were using in the white community: whether or not such an approach is applicable to the Negro community is open to question. However, the discussion was fruitful in that it seemed to result in some specific ideas which the CORE people will try out. Although we felt that it will be more difficult to organize white than to organize Negro unemployed, the CORE people did not seem to agree with this, beyond the fact that it is easier to find Negro unemployed in concentrated numbers. However, once found, they felt that the building of an organization would be equally as difficult.

RESEARCH

An important reconnoitering was made this week in our research program. With the new focus of our action projects, it was felt that our initial research goals and assignments had become somewhat obsolete, and were less immediate to our ongoing work. In considering our research goals, three levels were considered: 1) Programmatic. This area includes digging out basic information necessary for developing program and potential demands. 2) Field research. This area in a sense consists of all our field activity; in terms of the understanding of the organizability of different constituencies of the white community, which hopefully will come out of our work. 3) Broad questions. This area is concerned with long-range goals, with defining alternatives to the present system. The original research areas fit into the first category, since they are the areas for potential development of issues. Since most of these will be of importance in the event of continuation of the CCP, it was decided to table those not immediately relevant, with the hope of reactivating them in the fall, possibly with the aid of faculty and students in the Cleveland area who are interested in the CCP and in ERAP activity. The areas which have been

VISION

- abled, and a brief statement as to the progress made thus far in each, follows:
1. Established power in the Near West Side. Little organized progress has been made here, partially because the area is quite broad and tends to overlap with other areas. The goal for the remainder of the summer will be to define the kinds of questions to which answers are sought, specifically, to define the elements of the power structure in which we are interested. In considering this area, the question was raised, to what extent are we interested in the Near West Side per se, representing as it does only 6.8 per cent of the total city population. The corollary of this question is, to what extent—can we build viable neighborhood-oriented groups around issues which are city-wide in their impact? To what extent could the power structure of the Near West Side, if threatened, force concessions from the power structure of the city as a whole?
 2. Public safety. This is clearly a GROIN issue, and is valuable in that it is the type of issue which can easily be researched in cooperating with community people, hopefully serving as an education experience for them as well as us. Hence it was decided to leave research in this area up to each individual group, which would research those specific questions relevant to its issue.
 3. Recreation. Fairly extensive research has been conducted in this area, in connection with the attempt to determine the viability of recreation as an issue for the group in the Abbey area. The information obtained so far will be compiled, along with a plan for organization of the Abbey area around this as an initial issue. The researcher in this area felt that an inadequate picture of the channels for decision-making had been obtained, although he also felt that in fact no defined channels existed, and that the situation was quite a haphazard one. This view may prove incorrect, but it was felt that no further information could be gained in the time available.
 4. Housing and landlordism. Research here has revealed the general owning pattern of the Near West Side as one of small landlords rather than large ones, with a high percentage of the landlords living in the area rather than being absentees. For this reason, this does not seem to be an issue of immediate potentiality. Any more specific information, such as research on realty companies with holdings in the area, on changes in land and property values, would take considerable time, and was deemed not of high priority at this time.
 5. Education. A good base of general information has been obtained in this area. All three groups feel the need of continuing, and of obtaining more specific information pertinent to schools in the Near West Side, since this issue is a logical one into which to extend activity in the fall, at which time it will definitely be raised by the civil rights movement in Cleveland. Since the kinds of questions most pertinent to each of the three issues are somewhat different, each group will be responsible for its own researches, with one person assigned to co-ordinate the effort and to make sure duplication is avoided.
 6. Medical Care. Although this issue is also one potential for moving into once groups are established, it is not seen as of immediate importance. Further effort here will continue in a limited way, as preparation for an internal education discussion.
 7. Political character of the city. Although this information will also be of value in a continuing CCP, its programmatic possibilities for the near future are dubious, hence it is tabbed for the present.
 8. Credit Structure. This issue is similar to medical care, in that it is potential for broadening of a group once the group is ongoing. The information already collected here will be summarized, but further effort discontinued for the time being. Research thus continues primarily in the areas currently serving as the focus for organization. A brief description of the research effort in each area follows:
Public Housing. Research here is seen in four areas. First is the area of municipal, state and federal legislation regulating operation of public housing projects. The reason for research here is to discover who is vulnerable to potential demands. A good deal of information has been collected already. An interview is planned with Mr. E. Bohn, director of the Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority, and an internationally known person in the field of public housing, as well as one

of the authors of the federal housing legislation. Specifically, the question of leases will be considered further, in terms of what provisions of the lease need revising, and are revisable: for example, the limitations on income, or the right of the project management to give out personal information of project residents. The second area is that of GROIN issues, for example, the TV antennae mentioned earlier, or the regulations governing operation of an ore-loading dock adjacent to the project, which tends to operate at night, thus keeping people awake. The third area is the exploration of potential constituencies for the welfare and unemployment groups, within the housing project. This consists partially of continued gathering of statistical information of social characteristics of the population of the project, and partially of field research. A limitation on field research is the policy decision made this week, that we will give first priority to building a strong neighborhood council within the project before attempting to involve these people in outside activities. We feel that this approach is more likely to result in the neighborhood councils becoming multi-issue groups, as opposed to the alternative which may siphon off potential leadership, and which will not counteract the social isolation of the unemployed and welfare people within the project. The fourth area is that of the broad questions and long-term goals raised by the housing project: In what ways can the project be structured so that it is not a ghetto of the poor? Should the project concept be abandoned in our vision of a good society, or are the problems inherent in projects as they now exist overcomable? One member of the CCP who departed from us this week, to study for a year in Moscow, is planning an investigation of housing projects in the Soviet Union. This hopefully will provide a basis for comparison in terms of the problems created by housing projects in the US: dependency, insecurity, paternalism, all a characteristic of the welfare state. Although work here will be postponed until the fall, it is seen as vital to continue, in the hope of avoiding the tendency of action groups to lose sight of long-range goals. Welfare. Research here is in three areas. The first is considered technical: finding out what welfare programs exist, what their eligibility requirements are, how they are administered, what they provide. The most fruitful approach found here is that of contact with people in the administrative structure of the welfare department, so of whom have been found to be quite sympathetic. The need is felt to obtain comparative information of programs in other cities, but this is difficult to do from afar. The second area is that of the politics of welfare. This is seen in two categories: 1. the financing of welfare -- who pays what part of each program, where taxes come from, etc., 2. personal -- who makes the decisions, both formally and informally, and who these people really represent (Minnis type research). The third area is that of long-range goals. Questions here are those such as, how can the program be developed so as to help people get off welfare rather than creating permanent economic and psychological dependency. The concept of severance pay will be explored, as well as the question of how many people on welfare are in fact permanently disabled by it.

Unemployment. The first area of research here is that aimed at developing demands and program, and will be carried out as much as possible with the involvement of the men in the unemployed group. The question of existing training programs, and expansion and improvement of them, as well as the question of creation of jobs through expansion of city services, with the present work-relief program as a model, are central here. (Requirement of the state legislature that all men on relief be put to work a certain number of hours each month, has forced the city to create jobs, which so far have been along the lines of clearing land for a city golf-course.) The second area is that of collecting information needed to develop long-run programs. This includes statistical information on unemployment in Cleveland and Ohio, information on the economy of Cleveland, in terms of potential for new industry, declining industry, automating industry, and political information. The reapportionment of the Ohio legislature, slated to occur prior to November's election, may be important in terms of political action.

- Welfare*
- Issues*
1. Education. Many of the welfare problems related directly to the school. Welfare mothers do not have money to buy school supplies or enough shoes and clothes to keep their kids in tune with the social standard wt in the schools. Names and amounts of contributions to the United Fund are posted on school doors. Kids fail gym for lack of gym suits. And the school lunch program is set up so the welfare child is exposed as such. But the welfare mothers can (and have) become interested on working on more general issues relating to the schools, issues which have the potential of bringing in people from the community at large, eg., the lack of libraries in all elementary schools in the city. This kind of interest is particularly important with the big push for better schools on the East Side by CORE and other civil rights groups, and when this group of mothers will be an integrated groups or at least have strong ties to a similar group existing on the East Side. c.3
 2. Entertainment: We hope to be able to raise the issue of the government's
 3. Transportation. role in the support of transportation and entertainment by demands for free access to these facilities for welfare people. The government is subsidizing the farmers through welfare and low income bonuses under the food stamp plan. Why not develop similar stimulatory programs in urban transport and entertainment?

Constituency:

- A. Growth: see above.
- B. Total numbers at present are about 8,000 ADC mothers, and 6,000 General Relief recipients, in the Cleveland Metropolitan area.
- C. Racial composition, approximately 50-50.
At present, the relationship to the East Side is not clear. What we hope for, is two semi-independent groups which would co-operate on action projects. We want both to be inter-racial, the West Side group balanced heavily on the white side, the East Side heavily Negro. At present, the East Side people who were in the original CUFAP (Citizens United for Adequate Welfare) group have not been reactivated. The previous structure was one of a single group, with co-chairman, one from the West Side and one from the East Side. It was not too successful, in that every time a meeting was held on the East Side only the East Side people could get to it, and the same thing happened in reverse when it was held on the West Side.
- D. Possible Allies.
 - 1: The unemployment group.
 - 2: The inner-city Protestant Parish (started the original CUFAP).
 3. The civil-rights groups, especially CORE.

Program:

A. Service

1. Reasons for service projects. Just having mothers meet frequently will cut down the isolation built into the system. Service projects will also sustain the group in times between major action project thrusts. Will also help in area of leadership development (see below)
2. Possible programs *continuity*
 - a: List of cheap places to buy
 - b: Cheap but good manues.
 - c: List of welfare rights and appeal channels
 - d: Sewing club
 - e: Recreational activities -- including reading club.
 - f: Set up day care co-operative --
 - g. Mothers' pool of food stamps -- go out and buy in bulk

B. Action

1. Short Range (relieve immediate hardships)
 - a. Demand school clothes for each child.

- b: Demand school supplies for each child
 - c: Sliding scale for food stamps
 - d: Opening up the food stamp office on Saturdays, when it falls on the 11th.
 - e. School lunch programs which do not mark welfare children as such
2. Middle Range (coming of Socialist state)
- a: Free transportation
 - b. Free recreation: passes to theater, musicals etc. (gov. subsidies to these industries)
 - c. Political action -- raise the question of welfare in political campaigns
3. Long Range (Socialism -- these programs to get people off welfare)
- a: Adequate income for mothers
 - b. Work programs: provide training and retraining; babysitting services, help get jobs, severance pay
 - c. Incentives and programs for the children so as to insure that they also do not become relief clients: college or vocational school trust funds, children allowed to keep money that they earn
 - d: Free transportation and recreation for everyone in the society.
 - e. Mothers themselves determine the rules and regulations of the programs.

Leadership Development Program:

- A. Major difficulty of organizing the mothers will be in finding and developing leadership, because, mother is the head of the household, and that takes most of her time; feelings of dependency and consequent difficulty of asserting herself; very few middle class types who have had organizational experiences which could serve as the leadership.
- B. Implication of these problems for defining our role in the organization. See our major task as one of developing a core of leadership and providing direction in the beginning.
- C. Program for developing leadership
 - 1: Concentrating on developing a core
 - 2. Education of general membership

Goals for the Summer

- A: Start one major action project
- B: Start one major service program
- C: Concentrate on leadership development -- core group
- D. General recruitment of new people

Summary

- A. Problems
 - 1: Lack of leadership and time to develop it.
 - 2: Exactly how can a program directly confront the economic and political system
 - 3. Whether the number of people on welfare is a large enough minority to challenge the system.
- B. Positive aspects of Welfare Issue
 - 1. We are assured of people and an organization to follow up whatever is started, it is necessary for us to have (Don Armstrong and St Paul's Community Church)
 - 2. Good possibilities for a city-wide movement. Reactivation of the old group -- people and structures still around.
 - 3. Good possibility for it being an integrated movement -- for reason above, and because there are Negroes on the West Side who are on relief, live in public housing.
 - 4: Stability of population. Mothers on welfare don't move out of the city. C.B.
 - 5: Forces SDS-ERAP-CCP to come to grips with the questions of welfare.
 - 6. It can easily be channelled into other issues: education and employment. I.e., possible base for a multi-issue inter-racial movement of the poor.